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TOWARDS A NEW CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *SENTENTIAE*
ASSOCIATED WITH PUBLILIUS*

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Abstract: My aim in this chapter is two-fold: to review the evidence we have regarding the ancient reception of the mimographer and actor Publilius as composer of pithy sayings, and to update our information on the mss. tradition of the anthology of *sententiae* nowadays associated with his name. Two *appendices* are to be found at the end of the chapter. The first contains the most important *testimonia* (= T) on the name ‘Publilius’ and on the indirect transmission of individual *sententiae*; the second offers the first-ever full transcription of the verse *sententiae* (A1-N10), which appear in our earliest witness of the so-called *collectio Senecae*, the recently rediscovered ms. K, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berol. Lat. 4°, dated to the early ninth century.

The collection of 734 one-line *prouerbia* or *sententiae*, to which this issue of *Aliento* is dedicated, has a complex history, and many stages in its development are obscure. The collection almost certainly existed in some form in Aulus Gellius’ time (and perhaps even earlier than that, at the time of the Elder Seneca), and was then associated with a person whose name was very probably Publilius, *not* Publilius Syrus¹ or Publius (a reading which is found in some mss. and which I take to be the result of haplography, like the reading *lucius* in place of *lucilius*). Publilius seems to have been of non-Italian origin, and he is said to have acted in mime-plays, which he himself wrote. Since the publication (in 1475) of the *editio princeps* of the *sententiae* there have been about 280 critical editions,² but the emergence of new mss. containing the collection and the publication of important work on the text (especially by Giancotti) makes yet another edition of the *sententiae*

* I am indebted to Marta López Izquierdo for inviting me to contribute to this volume, and to the following colleagues who provided me with assistance and information on the material I discuss here: Veronica von Büren, Robert Giel,

¹ Michael D. REEVE, “Publilius”, in *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. REYNOLDS (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983) p. 328, n. 14: ‘Syrus is surely not part of it but an adjective of origin. Cicero, both Senecas, Petronius, the Elder Pliny, Gellius, Nonius, and Priscian all call him Publilius; Jerome and Macrobius describe him as *natione Syrus*; and the line of Caesar quoted by Macrobius is more pointed if a *Syro* means “by a Syrian”.’ For the *testimonia* on the name see the passages in Appendix 1.

² The list of early editions may be conveniently consulted in Roandeu A. H. BICKFORD-SMITH, (ed.), *Publili Syri Sententiae* (London, C. J. Clay and Sons, 1895) pp. xxix-lxii.

necessary. Recent editions of the *sententiae* are welcome and valuable,³ but they are heavily indebted to Meyer's work without making any claims of looking afresh at any mss. Landmarks in Publilian studies include: the ground-breaking study of the textual transmission of the *sententiae* by Meyer in 1877, a volume that paved the way to the publication of Meyer's (as yet) unsurpassed, but not unproblematic, edition of the text (1880);⁴ the excellent entry in *RE* on Publilius, which Skutsch wrote in 1959;⁵ Giancotti's massive study of about 150 mss. containing the *sententiae* (1963);⁶ and Reeve's magisterial three-page account of the transmission of Publilius, published in 1983.⁷ My aim in this chapter is to review the information we have regarding the early stages of the collection, and to update our picture of the mss. tradition.

According to Pliny the Elder (*NH* 35.199 = T 3), Publilius was born probably at Antioch and came to Italy, together with the astronomer Manilius and the grammarian Staberius Eros, as a young slave. Macrobius (*Sat.* 2.7.6–9 = T 6) says that Publilius gained his manumission by his wit (he cites two Publilian jokes as evidence for this) and beauty, and received a careful education, and that, during the games sponsored by Caesar in Rome, he competed on the stage with the equally famous mimographer of the late Republic, Decimus Laberius. It is likely that Macrobius' source for this highly problematic section of his account is a now lost *vita Publili*, possibly of Suetonian authorship.⁸ Cicero mentions Publilius twice, but does not cite any mime-fragments in relation to him (*Ad fam.* 12.18.2 and *Ad Att.* 14.2.1 = T 1 and 2). Even Trimalchio knew about Publilius and cited a poem of sixteen *senarii*, which some scholars have taken to be a genuine Publilian

³ See Hermann BECKBY, (ed.), *Sententiae. Die Sprüche des Publilius Syrus* (Munich, Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1969); Vincent HUNINK, (ed.), *Publilius Syrus. Romeinse Wijsheden* ('s-Hertogenbosch, Voltaire, 2005); and Guillaume FLAMERIE DE LACHAPPELLE, (ed.), *Publilius Syrus: Sentences* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2011) (the best of the recent bilingual editions of the *sententiae*).

⁴ Wilhelm MEYER, *Die Sammlungen der Spruchverse des Publilius Syrus* (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1877) and Wilhelm MEYER, (ed.), *Publilii Syri Mimi Sententiae* (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1880). There are many misreported readings in Meyer's *apparatus criticus*, most of which have been pointed out by Francesco GIANCOTTI, "Codici delle sentenze di Publilio Siro", *RFIC* 94 (1966) pp. 162-80. But Meyer was the first scholar to establish correctly, on the basis of important mss., the overall picture of the transmission of the *sententiae* as a collection.

⁵ Otto SKUTSCH, "Publilius Syrus, der Mimendichter", *RE* XXIII.2 (1959) cols. 1920-8. This is currently the best starting point on all aspects of Publilian studies. The *sententiae* are discussed in cols. 1924-7.

⁶ Francesco GIANCOTTI, *Ricerche sulla Tradizione Manoscritta delle Sentenze di Publilio Siro* (Messina-Firenze, G. D'Anna, 1963), corrected and supplemented by GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 4).

⁷ See REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) pp. 327-9.

⁸ The problems with Macrobius' account are outlined in Costas PANAYOTAKIS, *Decimus Laberius: The Fragments* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010) pp. 43-57.

composition.⁹ Regrettably, we have only three fragments from mime-plays attributed to Publilius, and all of them are transmitted to us indirectly. A play-title is attested for only two of the fragments. None of the three fragments may be said to be apophthegmatic. One of them (six words long) is in Nonius Marcellus (133.6 M = 193.6 L), the other (three words long) in Priscian (10.42 = *GL* 2.532.22 H), and the third (a line and a half long) in Isidore (19.23.2 L).¹⁰ This suggests that some of the mime-scripts of Publilius were available to these authors, but not necessarily in complete form; parts of the scripts (other than the *sententiae*) may have been circulating only in anthologies, from which, as it had been the case for Laberius and for many other dramatic and non-dramatic Republican authors, grammarians such as Priscian drew material for their treatises.

But what are the implications of the fact that we have only three brief, non-apophthegmatic extracts from Publilius' plays? Is this an indication that stylistically and linguistically Publilius differed from, and was less comic or less original than, say, Plautus, Pomponius, and Laberius? These playwrights were famous for the original and comic way in which they played with the Latin language, and so it is instructive to examine whether the authors who cited Publilius did so in a manner that perhaps explained the reasons for his infrequent appearance in their works. But Nonius' and Priscian's methodological approach to Publilius' mime-fragments does not seem to me to differ from the way in which Nonius and Priscian discuss citations attributed to Pomponius, Laberius, or indeed other comic and tragic playwrights whose scripts have come down to us in fragmentary form. The extant evidence, then, does not allow us to know with certainty whether or not the style of Publilius as mime-playwright was characterized by morphological, lexical, and phonological peculiarities, the kind of which Gellius (16.7) discusses in relation to Laberius' scripts. The Younger Seneca interestingly suggests that the visual and verbal humour of Publilius' mimes was often addressed to the audience in the gallery (*De tranq. an.* 11.8 = T 15), but it is not clear what he meant by this. Did he mean that Publilius, like Laberius, coined amusing neologisms and employed uncouth vocabulary in his scripts? We simply do not know.

On the other hand, the evidence about the reception of Publilius in the early Imperial period and in late antiquity suggests that his reputation as a comic playwright was almost non-existent in

⁹ See Petr. *Sat.* 55.4-6.1-16 (part of which is cited in T 4). The best discussion of the passage is now Aldo SETAIOLI, "Le due poesie in Petr. *Sat.* 55.6 e 93.2", *Prometheus* 35 (2009) pp. 237-58; the article has been translated into English under the title "Perverved Taste (Petr. 55.6; 93.2)", and was included in Aldo SETAIOLI, *Arbitri Nugae. Petronius' Short Poems in the Satyrical* (Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2011) pp. 113-32. This should now be supplemented by C.M. LUCARINI, "Publilian authenticity of the Petronian fragment (*SAT.* 55) and metre used by Publilius Syrus", *Alianto* 5 (2013) pp. 79-108.

¹⁰ My views on these fragments are included in a piece forthcoming in *Maia*. See also SKUTSCH, *op. cit.* (n. 4) cols. 1922-3, and Francesco GIANCOTTI, *Mimo e gnome: Studio su Decimo Laberio e Publilio Siro* (Messina-Firenze, G. D'Anna, 1967) pp. 225-30.

comparison with his popularity and his fame as a stylistically brilliant composer of *sententiae*, which seem to have made him not only fashionable in theatres and important to those who practised rhetoric, but also part of the school curriculum perhaps as early as the first century AD. From Griphus' words in Plautus' *Rudens* (1249-51), it becomes apparent that the Roman theatrical public delighted in hearing memorable words of wisdom,¹¹ and, according to the Elder Seneca, who was reporting Cassius Severus' views on the fashion for *sententiae* in the rhetorical culture of his time (*Contr.* 7.3.8 = T 7), Publilius' fondness for moral maxims was taken to extremes by young men who were poor imitators of his talent. The Elder Seneca calls Publilius' verses 'most skilfully expressed' (*disertissimos*), an adjective picked up by the Younger Seneca (*Ep.* 8.8.9) in his explicit comparison of Publilius' *dicta* with those found in tragedy (*Ep.* 8.8.9 and *Tranq. An.* 11.8 = T 10 and 11). Seneca expresses his unqualified admiration for them (*Ep.* 94.28 and 94.43 = T 9 and 10), and testifies to their impact on, and popularity with, the members of the audience (*Ep.* 108.8-9 and 108.11-12 = T 12 and 13). In the writings of the Younger Seneca we may also witness how the pithy sayings started to become intellectually separated and perhaps also textually dissociated from the theatrical genre and the farcical space to which they belonged (*Consol. ad Marc.* 9.5 = T 14). It is plausible that during Seneca's era some of Publilius' sayings were taken out of their mime-scripts and were embedded either individually or as a collection into the set texts taught, according to Seneca (*Ep.* 33.6-7 = T 22), because of their edifying and linguistic virtues, in schools of the first century AD. We know that in the fourth century Jerome (*Ep.* 107.8 = T 19) studied as a pupil some of the *sententiae*, and it is possible to argue that the corpus of the *sententiae* existed as a collection in Neronian times, because the Younger Seneca in his letters cites three *sententiae* starting with the letter A (A1, A2, and A55; *Ep.* 8.8-9 and 94.43 = T 8 and 11) and four starting with the letter I (I5, I7, I21, and I56; *Ep.* 94.28, 108.8-9, and 108.11-12 = T 10, 12, and 13).¹² The fourteen sayings which are quoted by Gellius (17.14.1-4 = T 16) and are attributed by him to Publilius are neither grouped under obvious thematic categories nor listed in any strict alphabetical order,¹³ but the indisputable facts that almost all of them appear in five mss. collections of the direct tradition (more on them below), and that one of them does not even appear in the mss. of the direct tradition,

¹¹ On the tradition of *sententiae* on the Roman comic stage see Elizabeth RAWSON, "*Speciosa locis morataque recte*", in *Homo Viator. Classical Essays for John Bramble*, eds. M. WHITBY, P. HARDIE, M. WHITBY (Bristol, Bristol Classical Press and Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1987) pp. 79-88 = Elizabeth RAWSON, *Roman culture and society. Collected Papers* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991) pp. 570-81.

¹² See SKUTSCH, *op. cit.* (n. 5) col. 1924.

¹³ But is it accidental that Gellius cites three *sententiae* starting with F, two with C, two with I, and two with N? Macrobius (*Sat.* 2.7.10-11 = T 17, copying almost exactly Gellius' account) is not an independent witness to the transmission of the collection, and for this reason I do not assess separately the validity of his evidence.

suggest that Gellius, who uses the significant phrase *sententiae feruntur* ‘his sayings are spoken of (as)’ (*OLD* s.v. *fero* 34b), had at his disposal the original collection (or a large part of it), which incorporated all the mss. collections that have so far been transmitted to us in various forms and lengths, and was larger than all of them put together.

It is also tempting to speculate whether the collection of *sententiae* associated with Publilius that was circulating in Imperial times had any connection with a Greek anthology, whose date of composition is uncertain, and which comprised one-line sayings, known as γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι; they were primarily associated with Menander, although the collection contained also lines from other playwrights (including Euripides). An argument linking the two collections was put forth for the first time in 1928, when the discovery of a Greek papyrus (PGiss 348, 11-12), dated to the second or third century AD and entitled ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ, led Kalbfleisch to hypothesize that a similar Greek anthology of the first century AD had been the model for the creation of the Latin anthology associated with Publilius. Skutsch saw a parallel between the production of the two collections, and it may not be coincidental that Gellius’ wording *sententiae...singulis versibus circumscriptae* (Gellius 17.14.3 = T 16) can be interpreted as the equivalent Latin wording of the Menandrian ascription γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι. It is also possible to point out corresponding sayings:

Alienum aes homini ingenuo acerba est servitus (A11 Meyer)

≈ Τὰ δάνεια δούλους τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ποιεῖ (Γν. 759 Jaekel = 750 Liapis)

Animo ventrique imperare debet, qui frugi esse vult (A51 M)

≈ Καλὸν γε γαστρὸς κάπιθυμίας κρατεῖν (Γν. 425 J = 750 L)

Amico firmo nil emi melius potest (A53 M)

≈ Φιλίας δικαίας κτήσις ἀσφαλεστάτη (Γν. 815 J = 805 L)

Amicis ita prodesto, ne noceas tibi (A54 M)

≈ Ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνου μὴ πρὶ τῇ σαυτοῦ βλάβῃ (Γν. 224 J = 218 L)

Amici mores noveris, non oderis (A56 M)

≈ Φίλων τρόπους γίνωσκε, μὴ μίσει δ’ ὅλως (Γν. 804 J = 794 L)

Crudelis est in re adversa obiurgatio (C2 M)

≈ Μὴ μβαίνει δυστυχοῦντι· κοινὴ γὰρ τύχη (Γν. 740 J = 462 L)

Cuivis potest accidere quod cuiquam potest (C34 M)

≈ Νόμιζε κοινὰ πάντα δυστυχήματα (Γν. 514 J = 506 L)

Fortuna in homine plus quam consilium valet (F27 M)

≈ Τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματ’, οὐκ εὐβουλία (Γν. 732 J = 723 L)

Giancotti rejected Kalbfleisch's view and the possibility of any link between the collections, because the corpus of Publilian *sententiae*, according to Giancotti, lacks the heterogeneous nature of the Menandrian anthology.¹⁴ Reeve agreed only partly with Giancotti:

Accretions from other authors might have been expected, but the versification and style are uniform and rival attributions do not occur. In that respect Publilius' *sententiae* differ from the Greek set ascribed to Menander, which includes lines from other authors; but the ascription may be a later curtailment of a fuller title. When these 'Menandrian *sententiae*' were compiled is not known, but in their transmission they closely resemble Publilius'.¹⁵

It is not entirely accurate to say that the collection of Publilian *sententiae* does not include lines from other authors. Three of the extant *antiquiores* (two of them most valuable for different reasons), belonging to different 'collections' of the *sententiae* (more on them below), include lines from Terence's *Andria* without any indication by the scribe in the text that there is a change of authorship from one line to the next: after *sententia* A13 ms. H (dated to the ninth century; see *collectio Palatina*, below) has Ter. *Andr.* 555 *Amantium ira (irae codd. Ter.) amoris inte gratia est (integratio est codd. Ter.)*; after A36 mss. F and V (see *collectio Frisingensis*, below) cite Ter. *Andr.* 555 as follows: *Amantium ira (irae codd. Ter.) amoris integratio est (integratio est codd. Ter.)*; finally, after D27 ms. M, which belongs to the *collectio Vindocinensis* that normally includes sayings in a paraphrased manner (see below), has Ter. *Andr.* 940-1 *Dignus es odio (odium ed. Ter.) cum tua religione qui (om. codd. Ter.) nodum in scirpo queris (quaeris codd. Ter.)*. Terence's lines may, of course, have been added into the corpus of the *sententiae* after the original large collection (Ω) associated with Publilius was broken into four or five different anthologies at some point between the second and the ninth centuries.

Most of the 'proverbial' sayings, as they have come down to us, are composed in the metres of the comic stage, *senarii* or *septenarii*, and the assumption is that they were originally part of mime-plays written in verse. But we are nowhere told who gathered the sayings and to whom they were addressed.¹⁶ Was Publilius himself the original editor, who gathered all of his most successful maxims, because he wished posterity to profit from his edifying wit? Was it a fan or theatrical associate of Publilius, who compiled the *dicta*, not necessarily a century after Publilius' death, but even during Publilius' lifetime, because he thought it a pity if such elegant humour were wasted? Was Cassius Severus, the *summus amator Publili*, as the Elder Seneca calls him (*Contr.* 7.3.8 = T

¹⁴ Karl KALBFLEISCH, "MENANΔPOY ΓΝΩΜΑΙ", *Hermes* 63 (1928), p. 102; SKUTSCH, *op. cit.* (n. 5) col. 1924; GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 10) p. 338.

¹⁵ REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) p. 327 n. 1.

¹⁶ See the useful discussion of GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 10) pp. 305-38.

7), the editor of the original collection? And if the editor was not Publilius, one wonders how this person could have recorded the sayings and with what criteria he selected them. Did he memorise the words of the actors? Did he consult the scripts of Publilius? And if the *sententiae* were originally compiled as a school text, can we be sure that the vocabulary of some of them was not modified to suit the target audience? There are no easy answers to these questions and, despite the absence of obvious stylistic, linguistic, and metrical variations in the extant corpus of the *sententiae*, it might be best to understand them as the work of one individual that may have been altered by others in the process of the compilation and the dissemination of the anthology.

Some of the *sententiae*, cited in passages by the Elder Seneca, the Younger Seneca, Gellius, and Macrobius have been *explicitly* attributed by them to a person, whose name appears in the mss. as either *Publius* or *Publilius*. However, there are also some one-line sayings in the Younger Seneca (*Ep.* 9.21, 94.28, 94.43, 108.8-9, 108.11-12, and *Consol. ad Marc.* 9.5 = T 9-14), Jerome (*Ep.* 53.11-12 and 107.8 = T 18 and 19), and Salvianus (*De Gub. Dei* 1.10.46-7 = T 20), which are not attributed to any author, but it is assumed that Publilius wrote them. This is so, because the overwhelming majority of these sayings appears also in one or in more than one out of six collections of *sententiae*, which were circulating in the Middle Ages in France, Germany, and Italy, and are now represented by about 160 mss., unevenly spread out in each of the collections.¹⁷ However, one *senarius* (C46), which Gellius (17.14.1-4 = T 16) attributes to Publilius, and four *senarii* of unidentified authorship (A55, A56, N61, Q74), which the Younger Seneca (*Ep.* 9.21, 94.43 and 108.11-12 = T9, 11, and 13) and Porphyry (ad Hor. *S.* 1.3.32 = T 21) quote, do not appear in any of the mss. collections. The overall picture that emerges is relatively straightforward in its complexity, and Reeve, who currently offers the best discussion on the textual transmission of Publilius' *sententiae*, rightly concludes: 'The medieval collections that survive show no sign of having been compiled from anything but one original collection larger than any of them.'¹⁸

¹⁷ I have collated about 100 of them so far while working on my own critical edition of the *sententiae*. The mss. are in libraries in Angers, Bamberg, Basel, Bern, Bruges, Bruxelles, Cambrai, Douai, Durham, Edinburgh, Evreux, Einsiedeln, Exeter, Florence, Glasgow, Goettingen, Wolfenbuettel, Kraków, Laon, Leiden, Liège, London, Montpellier, Munich, Oxford, Paris, Toulouse, Troyes, Tours, Valenciennes, Vatican City, Vendôme, Vienna, Uppsala, and Zürich. The list of mss. may be drawn upon consulting MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 5-13; GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 6) pp. 173-81; REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) pp. 327-9; Birger MUNK OLSEN, 'Publilius Syrus', in *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, vol. II (Paris, CNRS éditions, 1985) pp. 283-8, and vol. III.2 (Paris, CNRS éditions, 1989) p. 113; and Veronica VON BÜREN, "La transmission du *De Moribus* du Ps. Sénèque, de Winithar de S. Gall à Sedulius Scottus", in *Ways of approaching knowledge in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Schools and Scholarship*, eds. P. FARMHOUSE ALBERTO, D. PANIAGUA (Nordhausen, Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2012) pp. 209-10, 242-3. I am very grateful to Dr von Büren for allowing me to read her article before it was published.

¹⁸ REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) p. 327.

In modern critical editions of the *sententiae* and in scholarly publications on them the collections are conventionally known under the following names and with the following *sigla*:

(1) **Σ, *collectio Senecae***. This was the most widely circulated collection of the *sententiae*, and several mss. belonging to it are dated to the ninth century. It contains metrical or almost metrical *sententiae* from A1 to N10 (a maximum of 265 verses are recorded, 159 of which are found only in the Σ collection), after which the collection continues with prose *sententiae* (N I - Z II; a maximum of 145 of these are recorded) drawn from Ps.-Seneca's *De Moribus*, hence the name of the collection. We do not know when the interpolation took place, but it seems to have been due to someone's decision to use part of *De Moribus* to complete the text of the 'Publilian' *sententiae*, after it had (at some point and somehow) been brought abruptly to an end at N10. The most important witnesses, dated to the period from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, include:

- Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berlin lat. 4° 404 fols. 32^v-43^r (s. IX in.) (**K**)
- Paris lat. 2676 fols. 127^r-134^r (s. IX¼) (**P^a**)
- Paris lat. 7641 fols. 81^v-84^r (s. IX¼) (**P^b**) (available on-line: gallica.bnf.fr)¹⁹
- Valenciennes 411 (393) fols. 75^r-88^v (s. IX ex.) (**X**) (available on-line: gallica.bnf.fr)
- Vienna 969 fols. 62^v-70^r (s. IX⅔) (**A**)
- Zürich Rheinau 95 fols. 45^r-57^r (= pp. 91-115) (s. IX-X) (**R**)
- Wolfenbüttel 18.4 Aug. 2° fols. 87^r-93^r (s. X) (**Q**)
- Vatican Lat. 1783 fols. 139^v-147^v (s. X-XI) (**Vat.**)
- Basel A. N. IV 11 (K. III 34) fols. 72^v-74^v (s. XI) (**B**)
- Vendôme 127 fols. 30^r-35^r (s. XI) (**I^a**)
- Paris lat. 6085 fols. 94^r-96^r (s. XI) (**E**)
- London B. L. Reg. 12 C I fols. 190^r-197^v (s. XI-XII) (**W**)
- Göttingen 8° Cod. Ms. philol. 142 fols. 49^v-52^v (s. XII) (**G**)
- Burgerbibliothek Bern cod. 704 fols. 1^r-10^v (s. XII) (**β**)
- Troyes Bibl. Mun. 2074 fols. 1^r-8^v (s. XII) (**Tr.**)
- London B. L. Add. 11983 fols. 28^v-36^v (s. XII) (**L**)
- London B. L. Harl. 2659 fols. 4^v-7^v (s. XII) (**N**)
- London B. L. Reg. 7 A III fols. 113^r-118^v (s. XII) (**Y**), and
- Paris lat. 15172 fols. 122^v-125^v (s. XII-XIII) (**U**).²⁰

¹⁹ On this manuscript see the excellent discussion of Veronica VON BÜREN, "Vulfinus et le manuscrit Paris, BNF, Lat. 7641", *Aevum* 87 (2013) pp. 323-41, especially 334-5.

²⁰ On the *antiquiores* in this collection see MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 7-10; MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 6-9; REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) pp. 327-8; VON BÜREN, *op. cit.* (n. 17) pp. 209-10. On ms. K, in particular, which was not used by MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4), see Appendix II and VON BÜREN, *op. cit.* (n. 17) pp. 209-10 with n. 25, and pp. 242-4. GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 6) pp. 57-94 discusses in great detail mss. X and I^a, neither of which was used by MEYER,

Von Büren, who has recently discussed superbly the transmission of the pseudo-Senecan *De Moribus* and its interpolation into the Publilian corpus of *sententiae*, concludes as follows:

On ne connaît pas la date de l'interpolation du *De Moribus* dans la collection attribuée à Publilius. Dans *K*, le témoin le plus ancien conservé des proverbes de Publilius, l'interpolation est déjà présente; elle ne provient donc pas de *Pa*, comme pourrait le faire supposer l'ajout de l'interpolation, copié par une main différente. Par ailleurs *Pa* est le seul témoin des Proverbes à partager le titre "Sententiae Senecae philosophi" avec *K*. Les deux témoins sont aussi très proches par leur texte, mais *Pa* a des erreurs absentes de *K*.²¹

The history of ms. *K*, perhaps our oldest extant ms. in the transmission of the *sententiae* and the best witness to Cicero's *Laelius de amicitia*, is fascinating. It dates to the early ninth century, and its provenance has been disputed: Mommsen in 1863, followed by Powell in 1983, thought that it was written in the area of lake Constance, because on fols. 1^r and 43^r a fifteenth-century hand wrote (in abbreviated Latin) 'iste liber est ecclesiae Constantiae'.²² In 1926 Rand informally suggested, on the evidence of the style of the script, that the ms. was composed in Tours or in the neighbouring area, and held the same view in 1929 and 1934; Munk Olsen and Bischoff agreed with him.²³ Most recently, however, von Büren has convincingly argued that ms. *K* was the product of the work environment of Theodulf, Bishop of Orléans, and that both an important strand of the mss. tradition containing the *sententiae* associated with Publilius and the majority of the mss.

(ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4). The order of the *sententiae* in mss. *X* and *I*^a is as follows (I use Arabic numerals for the sayings associated with Publilius and Roman numerals for the sayings taken from *De Moribus*): *X* = **A** 1-25; **B** 1-25, 27-9, 26, 30, 32, 31, 32, 33-5; **C** 1-16, 18-20, 17, 21; **D** 1-16; **E** 1-16; **F** 1-27; **G** 1-9; **H** 1-10, 12-21; **I** 1-11, 13-34, 12; **L** 1-10; **M** 1-32; **N** 1-10, I-XVIII; **O** I-XVIII; **P** I-XXII; **Q** I-XXIII; **R** I-XIII; **S** I-XIX; **T** I-XIV; **V** I-XVII, EXPLICUNT PROVERBIA. *I*^a = **A** 1-34; **B** 1-25, 27-29, 26, 30-35; **C** 1-21; **D** 1-16; **E** 1-16; **F** 1-27; **G** 1-9; **H** 1-6, 11, 7-10, 12-21; **I** 1-11, 13-34, 12; **L** 1-10; **M** 1-32; **N** 1-10, I-XVIII; **O** I-XVIII; **P** I-XXII; **Q** I-XXIV; **R** I-XIII; **S** I-XIX; **T** I-XIV; **V** I-XVII; **Z** I, II.

²¹ VON BÜREN, *op. cit.* (n. 17) pp. 242-3.

²² Theodor MOMMSEN, "De Laelii Ciceroniani codice Didotiano narratio", *RhM* 18 (1863) p. 594; Jonathan G. F. POWELL, "Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia*", in *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. REYNOLDS (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 121-2.

²³ Charles H. BEESON, "The 'Lost' MS of Cicero's *De Amicitia*", *CPh* 21 (1926) p. 131 n. 1; Edward K. RAND, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, Mass., The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929) vol. 1, p. 114 n. 39; Edward K. RAND and L. W. JONES, *The Earliest Book of Tours: with supplementary descriptions of other manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, Mass., The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1934) pp. 90-1 n. 39; MUNK OLSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 17) vol. I p. 148 and vol. II. p. 386; Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen), Teil I: Aachen-Lambach* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1998) pp. 80-1, no. 384.

containing Ps.-Seneca's *De Moribus*, part of which ms. K transmits as an interpolation, were copied and studied in Reims and in the region around it.²⁴ Regardless of the issue of its provenance, ms. K remained unknown to classical scholars until 1863, when Mommsen found it in the private library of Ambroise-Firmin Didot, diplomat, publisher, and classicist (1790-1876). In an article published in 1863 Mommsen described the ms. and explained its value, but recorded only the variant readings that pertained to Cicero's *De amicitia*;²⁵ he did not discuss or record the *sententiae*. Meyer published his general study of the mss. containing the *sententiae* associated with Publilius in 1877 and his edition of the corpus in 1880, but, although Mommsen had clearly stated in his article that fols. 32^v-43^r of ms. K (or 'codex Didotianus', as it was then known) contained 'sententiae Senece philosophi', Meyer made no use of the ms. in either of his publications. The ms. was auctioned by the London antiquarian Bernhard Quaritch in 1893. It seems that lack of funds prevented the Bodleian Library from buying it;²⁶ in the end the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin purchased it and catalogued it as Berlin lat. 4° 404. Meyer was still alive in 1893 (he died in 1917), but, so far as I know, there was no attempt by him or by anyone else to publish a revised version of his 1880 edition that would take into account the readings of ms. K, which became available for consultation in the State Library in Berlin after 1893. Further attention was drawn to the ms. in the second half of the 1920s, when there was a further description of the volume, a discussion of the style of the scribe's writing, and an attempt to trace its provenance.²⁷ But the focus of the analysis continued to be the first thirty-two fols. containing the Ciceronian text of *Laelius De amicitia*, and no one offered a collation of fols. 32^v-43^r containing the *sententiae*. Duff and Duff seem not to know of the existence of ms. K, when they edited the *sententiae* in the Loeb Classical Library series in 1934.²⁸ During the war the ms. was brought in security (away from the bombs) to the east where it stayed unbeknownst to many, and Skutsch (writing in 1959) stressed its importance and reported that its current location was unknown.²⁹ The same report was given by Giancotti and by Reeve, writing in 1963 and 1983, respectively.³⁰ Ms. K reappeared in the scholarly press in 1986; it was included in a list of Latin mss. which originated from the Staatsbibliothek Berlin and were currently housed in

²⁴ See above, n. 17.

²⁵ MOMMSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 21) pp. 597-601.

²⁶ Richard W. HUNT, "An Opportunity Missed: the Didot Manuscript of Cicero, *De amicitia*," *Bodleian Library Record* 7, no. 5 (1966) p. 275.

²⁷ BEESON, *op. cit.* (n. 22) pp. 120-31.

²⁸ J. Wight DUFF and Arnold M. DUFF, *Minor Latin Poets* (London and Cambridge, Mass., William Heinemann Ltd. and Harvard University Press, 1934) pp. 9-10 (list of mss. consulted).

²⁹ SKUTSCH, *op. cit.* (n. 5) col. 1925.

³⁰ GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 6) pp. 46 n. 9 and 54; REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) p. 327 n. 4.

the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow.³¹ But, to the best of my knowledge, it continued to remain unnoticed until 2005, when a reference to it was made with relation to a poem of Eugenius, Bishop of Toledo, who was the third and final author contained in the ms. (fol. 43^r).³² Ms. K was officially catalogued in 2007,³³ and its place in the textual transmission of Ps.-Seneca's *De Moribus* was brilliantly discussed by von Büren in 2012, but the part of the ms. containing the *sententiae* has not been collated yet. For this reason I offer in Appendix II the first-ever full transcription of fols. 32^v-43^r.

(2) II, *collectio Palatina*. The so-called 'Palatine' collection is now represented by only one witness, probably the oldest or second oldest (after ms. K) extant ms. of the *sententiae* (early ninth century), Vatican Palat. lat. 239 fols. 3^v-6^r (**H**) (available on-line through the catalogue of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana). The collection originally contained probably 384 verses (extending from letters A to V), but in its current state it contains only 60 *sententiae*, starting with the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and finishes with one *sententia* starting with the letter L (L11). On fol. 3^r a hand has written in capitals *Incipiunt sententiae generales in singulis uersibus*. This is followed by eleven prose *sententiae* in the same fol. and by another seven in fol. 3^v. After a space of two lines the same hand has written the *sententiae* associated with Publilius. It is possible, though, to read on the margin at the left-hand side of the text, in the space next to the first three *sententiae* in the list, the words 'Sunt P. Syri sententiae A. Maius' (written by the hand of the cardinal Angelo Mai). No indication is given of the title of the collection at the end of the section (fol. 6^r). The *sententiae* in ms. H are not arranged in the same order as the *sententiae* in the mss. of the Σ collection, and they mysteriously end in mid-page.³⁴

³¹ Wolfgang MILDE, "Lateinische Handschriften der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin in der Biblioteca Jagiellońska Krakau", *Codices manuscripti* 12 (1986) p. 88.

³² Paulo F. ALBERTO, (ed.), *Eugenii Toletani Opera Omnia*, CCSL 114 (Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2005) p. 124 and n. 267.

³³ Renate SCHIPKE, *Die lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, 2007) pp. 528-9.

³⁴ The order of the *sententiae* in H is as follows (for my numbering system see n. 19): **A** 6, 35, 36, 12, 13, Ter. *Andr.* 555, **A** 15, 16, 37-41, 18, 22, 23, 26, 32, 28, 2, 42; **B** 36, 4, 37, 13, 38, 24, 27, 39-41; **C** 2, 5, 22-27, 9, 28-31, 12, 32, 33, 13, 17, 34-36, 8, 20, 37; **D** 17, 7, 18-20, 5, 6, 21-24; **E** 3, 1, 5, 17-19, 11, 13, 16, 15; **F** 2, 28, 5, 8, 9, 17; **G** 7, 8, *gemitus dolorem magis significat quem uindicat*, **G** 4, 5; **H** 22, 12, 23, 18, 15, 24, *homo malus cum se simulat bonum tunc est pessimus* (cfr. M9 *malus, bonum ubi se simulat, tunc est pessimus*), 6, 25-27, 17; **I** 19, 21, 35, 36, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 37-39, 34, 25, 40, 18, 41, 43-46, 4, 47-50, 6, 11, 51, 15, 52, 17, 53, 54, 22, 24, 42, 55-58, 26, 60, 28; **L** 11. On H and the *collectio Palatina* in general see MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 15-21; MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 9-10; GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 6) *passim* (see p. 180); and REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) p. 328. MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 57-61 describes and transcribes the section of ms. H, which contains the *sententiae*, but there are errors and inaccuracies in his

(3) **Ψ, *collectio Frisingensis***. Someone collated a full witness of the Σ collection against a complete descendant of the Π collection, which contained *sententiae* from A to V, and produced the *collectio Frisingensis*, so called because it is currently represented by one complete witness, the anthology of *sententiae* from Freising in Bavaria, Munich Clm 6292 fols. 143^v-162^r (s. XI in.) (**F**) (available on-line through the catalogue of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).³⁵ It is on ms. F that the text of modern editions of the *sententiae* is based. Since F is a product of the collation of the full text of a descendant of the Σ collection and the full text of a descendant of the Π collection, it contains both the *sententiae* that are associated with Publilius and extend from A1 to N10, in metrical or almost metrical form, and the prose *sententiae* from *De Moribus* of Ps.-Seneca (N I - V XVI), followed by the relevant section of verse *sententiae* associated with Publilius.³⁶ Modern editors ignore the prose *sententiae* when editing the “Publilian” *sententiae*. Other witnesses to this collection preserve only part of the text: for example, Vienna 299 fols. 91^{r-v} (s. XII) (**V**), London Lambeth 550 fols. 21^r-23^r (s. XII) (**λ**), Florence, Laurentianus Plut. 66.39 fols. 164^{r-v} (s. XII½) (**ε**), Vatican Reg. lat. 243 fol. 93^v (s. XII-XIII) (**ρ**), Vatican Reg. lat. 1896 fol. 122^r (s. XIII) (**π**), Paris lat. 8027 fol. 89^r (s. XIV) (**par.**). Others are heavily interpolated and/or do not list the *sententiae* in alphabetical order: Troyes Bibl. Mun. 215 fols. 97^v-98^v (s. XII-XIII) (**τ**), Munich Clm 17210 70^v-73^v (s. XIII) (**ψ**), Munich Clm 7977 fols. 147-161 (s. XIII) (**κ**), Munich Clm 17210 fols. 63,4-70,4 (s. XIII) (**σ**), Paris lat. 16089 fol. 242^r (s. XIII-XIV) (**γ**), Troyes Bibl. Mun. 1534 fols. 317^v-318^r (s. XIII-XIV) (**ζ**), Vatican lat. 3083 fols. 7^v-11^r (s. XIV) (**D**), Munich Clm 14230 fols. 1-57 (s. XIV) (**α**). Nonetheless, some of them contain correct readings, which F does not record.

(4) **Y, *collectio Vindocinensis***. This collection was formerly called Turicensis, because until 1963 its main witness was ms. Turicensis C 78 (451). It is now represented by four mss., and the only complete witness of the collection is Vendôme 127 fols. 35^v-37^r (s. XI) (**I^b**). Along with ms. I^a (see above, *collectio Senecae*), ms. I^b was discovered by GIANCOTTI, and gives the collection its new name. The text of ms. I^b follows the text of ms. I^a without any indication by the scribe that there is a change of anthology. Other witnesses to the collection are Munich Clm 6369 fols. 63^{r-v} (s. XI) (**M**)

transcription, some of which are correctly pointed out by GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 6) p. 52. But he too is wrong in correcting MEYER at one point (with regard to *sententia* I46).

³⁵ On F and the *collectio Frisingensis* in general see MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 13-31; MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 10-12; GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 6) *passim*; Birger MUNK OLSEN, “Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII^e siècle”, *RHT* 9 (1979) 119-20; and REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) p. 328.

³⁶ The order of the *sententiae* in F is as follows (for my numbering system see n. 19): **A** 1-36, Ter. *Andr.* 555, **A** 37-42; **B** 1-3, 5-25, 27-29, 26, 30-36, 4, 37-41; **C** 1-16, 18-20, 17, 21, 5, 22-37; **D** 1-24; **E** 1-19; **F** 1-3, 9, 4-8, 10-27, 28, 17 (*iterum scriptus post versum F* 28); **G** 1-9; **H** 1-6, 11, 8-10, 12-14, 16-23, 15, 24-27; **I** 1-3, 5-11, 13-34, 12, 19, 35-46, 4, 47-61; **L** 1-17; **M** 1-68; **N** 1-10, I-XVIII, 11-46, 10, 47-59; **O** I-XVIII, 1-14; **P** I-XXI, 1-51; **Q** I-XXIII, 1-68; **R** I-XIII, 1-15; **T** I-XIV, 1-3; **V** I-XVI, 1-24.

(available on-line through the catalogue of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), Zürich C 78 (451) fols. 160^v-162^v (s. IX/X) (**T**), and Vatican Reg. lat. 1762 fols. 224^v-225^r (s. IX) (**r**); each of these three mss. contains considerably fewer *sententiae* than ms. I^b, and all of them share with ms. I^b the tendency to paraphrase the metrical sayings to such an extent that they become similar to prose sayings. Although the general alphabetical order is retained in collection Y, the order in which individual *sententiae* are grouped within each letter of the alphabet differs greatly from the order of the *sententiae* in other collections. Collection Y as a whole contains 134 *sententiae*, 48 of which do not appear in any of the other ‘Publilian’ collections. Meyer did not know of the existence of mss. I^b and r; they should be taken into account in future critical editions.³⁷

(5) **O**, *collectio Veronensis*. The collection takes its name from its sole witness, Verona Biblioteca Capitolare 168 (155), a *florilegium* containing FLORES MORALIUM AUTORITATUM and dated to 1329 (**O**). It includes 60 Publilian *sententiae*,³⁸ 16 of which do not appear in any of the other collections. The *sententiae* are transmitted not in alphabetical order but under thematic categories, such as *De uitio*, *De fide*, *De spe*, and so on,³⁹ and are introduced by the name of the playwright in one of the following forms: PUBLIUS or PUBLIUS SYRUS or PUBLIUS MIMUS or EX SENTENTIIS PUBLII or DE SENTENTIIS PUBLII. Publilius’ name is not linked with the *sententiae* in any of the other collections,⁴⁰ with two (unimportant) exceptions: in ms. Tr. (see above, *collectio*

³⁷ On the *collectio Vindocinensis* see MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 32-5; MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4) p. 12; GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 6) pp. 153-68; and REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) p. 328 and p. 329 (Addendum). The order of the *sententiae* in mss. I^b and r is as follows: **I^b** = **A** 10, 42, 40, 43-49, 26, 28, 50, 51; **B** 1, 42, 43, 10, 12, 14, 3, 2, 23, 29, 31, 34; **C** 15, 38, 17, 7, 39, 40, 27, 41, 30, 31, 2, 42, 43, 13, 44; **D** 3, 5, 25-28; **E** 11; **F** 29, 9, 30, 11, 13, 19, 14, 31; **G** 3, 7, 10; **H** 28, 29, 17, 13, 24, 12, 2, *haec tibi etiam uocis nunquam libertas habet*; **I** 21, 22, 13, 6, 9, 14, 17, 63; **M** 2, 1, 25, 58, 69; **N** 4, 60, 45, 21, 7, 47, 25; **O** 4, 6; **P** 52, 33, 34, 40, 3, 4; **Q** 69, 70, 15, 42, 71, 72, 37; **R** 8, 10, 16; **S** 43, 2, 44, 7, 10, 45-48; **E** 21, **S** 49, 35; **T** 2, 4, 5; **V** 25, 26, 5, 27, 6, 28-30, 8, 31, EXPLICIUNT PROVERBIA. **r** = **A** 10, 42, 40, 43-48, 26, 49, 28, 50, 51; **B** 1, 42, 43, 10, 12, 14, 2, 3, 23, 29, 31, 34; **C** 15, 38, 17, 7, 39, 40, 27, 41, 30; **D** 3; **F** 29.

³⁸ They are: **A** 2, 52, 53; **C** 2, 25, 31, 45; **D** 11, 17, 22; **E** 4, 10, 18, 21, 22; **F** 9, 14, 32, 33; **G** 1; **H** 7, 27; **I** 21, 28, 50, 55; **L** 12; **M** 2, 54, 70, 71; **N** 2, 40; **O** 6, 15; **P** 40, 43, 53-55; **Q** 49, 72, 73; **R** 11; **S** 7, 12, 22, 31, 42, 49; **T** 4, 6, 7; **V** 8, 10, 16, 30, 32-34. MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 61-6 transcribes the text of the *sententiae* but with minor errors, which are corrected by GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 163-8.

³⁹ A full list of the headings is given in GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 4) p. 164 n. 2.

⁴⁰ The headings for the *sententiae* in the mss. mentioned above are as follows: INCIPIUNT SENTENTIAE SENECE PHYLOSOPHI **K**: INCIPIUNT SENTENTIAE SENECAE PHYLOSOPHI **P^a**: INCIPIUNT SENTENTIAE SENECE XLVI **P^b**: INCIPIUNT SENTENTIAE GENERALES IN SINGULIS VERSIBUS **H**: ANNEI SENICAE PROVERBIA **AR**: INCIPIUNT PROVERBIA ANNII SENECE **Q**: ANNEI SENECAE PROVERBIA INCIPIUNT **XI^aW**: ANNII SENECE PROVERBIA INCIPIUNT **Vat.**: PROVERBIA SENECE **β**: INCIPIUNT PROVERBIA EIUSDEM SENECE PER ORDINEM ALPHABETI DISPOSITA **L**: INCIPIUNT SENTENTIAE PHYLOSOPHURUM **Mr**: PROVERBIA SENECE **Nr**: PROVERBIA PHILOSOPHURUM **ε**: ITEM SENTENTIE SENECE **ψσ**: PROVERBIA

Senecae) a *manus recentior* has written in the upper margin of fol. 1^r ‘LABERII, P. SYRI, & Aliorum ueterum sententiae, uersibus singulis comprehensae’; and on fol. 108^v of ms. Vatican lat. 2210 (s. XV), which belongs to the *collectio* Σ, someone, whose handwriting seems to me to be neither entirely identical nor too dissimilar from the handwriting of the scribe who wrote the *sententiae* in the rest of the ms., has superimposed onto the text of *sententia* A1 the words ‘Anonymi (seu P. Siri Mimi) Prouerbia’. Owing to the explicit and consistent mention of Publius’ name in the ‘collectio Veronensis’, Meyer thought that ms. O drew its material from a much larger, alphabetically arranged, collection of *sententiae* entitled PUBLILII SYRI MIMI SENTENTIAE. No ms. with such a title preceding the text of the *sententiae* associated with Publilius has been found yet.⁴¹

(6) Φ and φ are the sigla which Meyer gave in his study and in his edition of the *sententiae* to ‘two versions of an anthology that includes sixteen verses in garbled form and may include others not elsewhere attested.’⁴² The text of these two versions, whose authorship is uncertain, was first published in 1855 by Wölfflin, who collated a small number of the relevant mss., and wrongly attributed the longer anthology to a ‘Caecilius Balbus’, because he had misunderstood a passage in John of Salisbury’s *Pol.* 3.16. Wölfflin’s account pertaining to the relevant mss. containing these collections needs to be corrected and supplemented by Scheibmaier’s important (but not easily accessible) study of the transmission of the anthologies; it appeared one year before the publication of Meyer’s edition.⁴³

The longer version, Φ, is found in fols. 84^r-91^r of ms. F, the sole complete descendant in the *collectio Frisingensis* (see above). The *sententiae* associated with Publilius are not listed alphabetically but appear classified under thematic headings, such as *De sapientia*, *De doctrina*, *De fide*, *De patientia*, and so on,⁴⁴ and are mixed with sayings (in Latin) attributed to a group of almost exclusively Greek historical figures (Socrates, Diogenes, Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and others). Scheibmaier and Meyer argued that Φ was a translation into Latin of a Greek anthology of sayings,

PHILOSOPHORUM κ: PROVERBIA ^{βζ}. There is no title introducing the *sententiae* in the following mss.: B, E, G, Tr., Y, U, F, V, λ, D, ρ, T.

⁴¹ On the *collectio Veronensis* see MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 47-54; MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4) p. 5-6; GIANCOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 6) *passim* (see p. 181); and REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) p. 328.

⁴² MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 44-6; MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4) p. 13; on the history of the collection see REEVE, *op. cit.* (n. 1) p. 329, from which the quotation is cited. See also N. DIOURON, “Le Pseudo-Caecilius Balbus et Publilius Syrus” *Alianto* 5 (2013) pp. 51-78.

⁴³ Eduard WÖLFFLIN, *Caecilii Balbi de nugis philosophorum quae supersunt* (Basle, Schweighausersch Sortimentsbuchhandlung, 1855) pp. 3-45; Josephus SCHEIBMAIER, *De sententiis quas dicunt Caecilii Balbi* (Munich, H. Kutzner, 1879). The misattribution to ‘Caecilius Balbus’ was corrected by August REIFFERSCHIED, “Zwei litterarhistorische Phantasmata”, *RhM* 16 (1861) 12-26.

⁴⁴ A full list of headings is given in SCHEIBMAIER, *op. cit.* (n. 42) pp. 30-2.

and that the *sententiae* associated with Publilius were added to it subsequently so as to augment it.⁴⁵ Large parts of the longer version of the anthology (but without the headings) appear also in Vatican lat. 1769 fols. 194^r-195^v (s. XIV), Vatican lat. 2213 fols. 104^v-105^v (s. XIV), Vatican lat. 3083 fols. 1^r-3^v (s. XIV), Vienna 299 fols. 87^r-90^v (s. XII) (V in *Collectio Frisingensis*), Paris lat. 8818 fols. 45^v-49^r (s. XI) (available on-line: gallica.bnf.fr), Paris lat. 18600 fols. 41^r-45^r (s. XIII) (available on-line: gallica.bnf.fr), Paris lat. 8027 fols. 89^r-90^v (s. XIV), Florence Laurent. 20,48 8° fols. 52,2-54,1 (s. XII ex.), Vatican Reg. lat. 1575 4° fols. 94,3-97,1 (s. XIII), and Munich Clm 17210 4° fol. 73,4 (s. XIII).

The last three mss. in the above list contain not only Φ but also also its shorter version, φ, which is also attested in Paris lat. 2772 (s. IX), Paris lat. 4887 (s. XIII), Paris lat. 5266 fols. 38^r-39^v (s. XIV), Paris lat. 5718 fols. 52^{r-v} (s. XIII) (the last two mss. are available on-line: gallica.bnf.fr), the witnesses of the *Florilegium Angelicum* (s. XII), Florence Laurent. Strozzi 75 fol. 48 (s. XIII), and Tarragona Biblioteca Pública del Estado ms. 94 fol. 93^{r-v} (s. XV) (available on-line through the catalogue of the Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico).⁴⁶ According to my calculations, Φ and φ, put together, contain eighteen verses in garbled form that can be identified in one or in more than one of the other five collections associated with Publilius.⁴⁷ In addition to them, Meyer had identified in the shorter version of the anthology four *sententiae*, which, although he could not find in any of the mss. in the other collections, he was keen to include in the corpus, because in his view they resembled the other ‘Publilian’ sayings. I have, in fact, found one of them in a heavily interpolated version of the *collectio Frisingensis* represented in Munich Clm 7977 (κ). There may

⁴⁵ SCHEIBMAIER, *op. cit.* (n. 42) pp. 15-27 and 30-2; MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 45-6; MEYER, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 4) p. 13.

⁴⁶ I have been unable so far to consult Paris lat. 2772 and Paris lat. 4887 so as to identify the relevant fol. numbers in them. I am grateful to Michael Reeve for alerting me to Wölfflin’s error regarding the catalogue number of Paris lat. 5718 (WÖLFFLIN, *op. cit.* (n. 42) p. 37 had recorded the ms. as 4718, and this mistake was reproduced by SCHEIBMAIER, *op. cit.* (n. 42) p. 8), and for informing me about the existence of collection φ in the *Florilegium Angelicum* and in the *Flores philosophorum et poetarum* (Tarragona ms. 94). On the former *florilegium* see Richard H. ROUSE and Mary A. ROUSE, «The *Florilegium Angelicum*: its origin, content, and influence», in *Medieval learning and literature: essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. ALEXANDER and M. T. GIBSON (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976) pp. 97-8 and 101-14.

⁴⁷ These are: Φ chapter I, paragraph 13 (appearing also as φ 12) = N39 (attested in collection Ψ); I, 29 = A2 (in Σ, Π, Ψ, O); VII, 3 = I43 (in Π, Ψ); VII, 4 = R12 (in Ψ); VIII, 3 = A43 (in Ψ, Y); XII, 8 = I56 (in Π, Ψ); XV, 15 = B10 (in Σ, Ψ, Y); XVII, 2 = N8 (in Σ, Ψ); XVII, 3 = A36 (in Π, Ψ); XXII, 4 (appearing also as φ 12) = V22 (in Ψ); XLVIII, 7 = P51 (in Ψ); XLVIII, 8 = I21 (in Σ, Π, Ψ, Y, O); XLVIII, 10 = Q3 (in Ψ); XLVIII, 11 = D9 (in Σ, Ψ). φ 44 = M69 (in Y); φ 63 = M71 (in O); φ 80 = C27 (in Π, Ψ, Y); φ 82 = D23 (in Π, Ψ).

well be more ‘Publilian’ *sententiae* in anthologies Φ and ϕ , but we currently have no means of identifying them with certainty.⁴⁸

APPENDIX I

Testimonia on the name ‘Publilius’ and on the indirect transmission of the *sententiae*

(1) Cicero *Ad fam.* 12.18.2 [MDHV] [written in Oct. 46]: Equidem sic iam obdurui ut ludis Caesaris nostri animo aequissimo viderem T. Plancum, audirem Laberi et Publili [Manutius (Venice, 1533): **publii** *codd.*] poemata.

(2) Cicero *Ad Att.* 14.2.1 [written in April 44]: duas a te accepi epistulas heri. ex priore theatrum **Publilium**que [M (1393): **publium**que R (1419) δ (= *consensus of fifteenth cent. mss.*) λ (= *lectiones in mg. ed. 1572 veteri cod. adtribuitae*)] cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis.

(3) Pliny *NH* 35.199 [BVRFdTha]: est et vilissima qua circum praeducere ad victoriae notam pedesque venalium trans maria advectorum denotare instituerunt maiores; talemque **Publilium** [BVF α : **publium** RdTh] † lochium [BVRFdT: locium *a*: lucilium *h*: Antiochium Jahn], mimicae scaenae conditorem,⁴⁹ et astrologiae consobrinum eius Manilium Antiochum [edd.: anthiochum Tha: anthiocum Bd: manthiocum VRF], item grammaticae Staberium Erotem eadem nave advectos videre proavi.

(4) Petronius *Sat.* 55.4-6 Müller: ab hoc epigrammate coepit poetarum esse mentio diuque summa carminis penes Mopsum Thracem memorata est, donec Trimalchio ‘rogo’ inquit ‘magister, quid putas inter Ciceronem et Publilium [Buecheler: **Publium** HLO] interesse? ego alterum puto disertiore fuisse, alterum honestiorem. quid enim his melius dici potest?

(5) Suetonius *De poetis* p. 57 Rostagni = Jerome *Chronicon* ad Ol. 184, 2 (= 43 BC): Laberius mimorum scriptor decimo mense post C. Caesaris interitum Puteolis moritur. **Publilius** mimografus **natione Syrus** Romae scaenam tenet.

(6) Macrobius 2.7.6–9 Kaster: Is **Publilius** [NDGP: **publius** MBVOLKRJHFAC] **natione Syrus** cum puer ad patronum domini esset adductus, promeruit eum non minus salibus et ingenio quam forma. Nam forte cum ille servum suum hydropicum iacentem in area vidisset increpuiissetque quid in sole faceret respondit: ‘aquam calefacit’. Ioculari deinde super cena exorta quaestione quodnam esset molestum otium, aliud alio opinante, ille ‘podagrici pedes’ dixit. Ob haec et alia manu missus et maiore cura eruditus, cum mimos componeret ingentique adsensu in

⁴⁸ Meyer’s four *sententiae* were: ϕ 46 = A54; ϕ 55 = V35; ϕ 60 = M72; ϕ 81 = G11 (but I found this also in ms. κ). MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4) p. 46 and SCHEIBMAIER, *op. cit.* (n. 42) pp. 29-30 single out a few more sayings that they think are ‘Publilian’.

⁴⁹ ‘originator’ = OLD s.v. 2; but SKUTSCH, *op. cit.* (n. 5) col. 1921 n. 1 takes this to mean ‘scriptor’ at least in relation to Staberius Eros (see OLD s.v. 3).

Italiae oppidis agere coepisset, productus Romae per Caesaris ludos, omnes qui tunc scripta et operas suas in scaenam [*codd. praeter A²C*: cenam A²C] locaverant provocavit ut singuli secum posita in vicem materia pro tempore contenderent. Nec ullo recusante superavit omnes, in quis et Laberium. unde Caesar adridens hoc modo pronuntiavit:

‘favente tibi me victus es, Laberi, a [*om. K*] **Syro**’;

statimque **Publilio** [*NDGP*: **Publio** MBVOLKRJHFAC] palmam et Laberio anulum aureum cum quingentis sestertiis dedit. Tunc **Publilius** [*DGP*: Publius NMBVOLKRJHFAC] ad Laberium recedentem ait:

‘quicum contendisti scriptor, hunc spectator subleva’.

(7) Seneca *Contr.* 7.3.8: memini Moschum, <cum> [*add. Kiessling*] loqueretur de hoc genere sententiarum, quo infecta iam erant adulescentorum omnium ingenia, queri de **Publilio** quasi ille [iam] [*del. Baumm*] hanc insaniam introduxisset. Cassius Severus, summus **Publili** amator, aiebat non illius hoc vitium esse, sed eorum, qui illum ex parte qua transire deberent imitarentur, <non imitarentur> [*add. Bursian*] quae apud eum melius essent dicta quam apud quemquam comicum tragicumque aut Romanum aut Graecum; ut illum versum quo aiebat unum versum inveniri non posse meliorem: “tam dest avaro quod habet quam quod non habet” [T3 Meyer; Ψ (only in F); Quintilian 8.5.6, 9.3.64; Jerome *Ep.* 53.11]; et illum de eadem re dictum: “desunt luxuriae multa, avaritiae omnia” [I7 Meyer; Σ; Π; Ψ; Seneca *Ep.* 108.9]; et illos versus qui huic quoque ter abdicato possent convenire: “o vita misero longa, felici brevis!” [O3 Meyer; Ψ (only in F)] et plurimos deinceps versus referebat **Publili** disertissimos.

(8) Seneca *Ep.* 8.8-9 Reynolds: potest fieri ut me interroges quare ab Epicuro tam multa bene dicta referam potius quam nostrorum: quid est tamen quare tu istas Epicuri voces putes esse, non publicas? quam multi poetae dicunt quae philosophis aut dicta sunt aut dicenda! non attingam tragicos nec togatas nostras (habent enim hae quoque aliquid severitatis et sunt inter comoedias ac tragoedias mediae): quantum disertissimorum versuum inter mimos iacet! quam multa **Publili** [*P¹b*: **publii** *cett. codd.*] non excalceatis sed coturnatis dicenda sunt! unum versum eius, qui ad philosophiam pertinet et ad hanc partem quae modo fuit in manibus, referam, quo negat fortuita in nostro habenda: “alienum est omne quidquid optando evenit.” [A1 Meyer; Σ; Ψ]

(9) Seneca *Ep.* 9.21 Reynolds: ut scias autem hos sensus esse communes, natura scilicet dictante, apud poetam comicum invenies: “non est beatus, esse se qui non putat”. [N61 Meyer; not in the mss.] Quid enim refert qualis status tuus sit, si tibi videtur malus?

(10) Seneca *Ep.* 94.28 Reynolds: numquid rationem exiges cum tibi aliquis hos dixerit versus? “iniuriarum remedium est oblivio.” [I21 Meyer; Σ; Π; Ψ; Y; O; Φ] “audentis fortuna iuvat, piger ipse sibi opstat.” advocatum ista quaerunt: adfectos ipsos tangunt et natura vim suam exercente proficiunt.

(11) Seneca *Ep.* 94.43 Reynolds: quis autem negabit feriri quibusdam praeceptis efficaciter etiam inperitissimos? velut his brevissimis vocibus, sed multum habentibus ponderis: “nil nimis”. “avarus animus nullo satiatur lucro.” [A55 Meyer; not in the mss.] “ab alio expectes alteri quod feceris.” [A2 Meyer; Σ; Π; Ψ; O; Φ] haec cum ictu quodam audimus, nec ulli licet dubitare aut interrogare “quare?”; adeo etiam sine ratione ipsa veritas lucet.

(12) Seneca *Ep.* 108.8-9 Reynolds: facile est auditorem concitare ad cupidinem recti; omnibus enim natura fundamenta dedit semenque virtutum. omnes ad omnia ista nati sumus: cum irritator accessit, tunc illa animi bona veluti sopita excitantur. non vides quemadmodum theatra consonent quotiens aliqua dicta sunt quae publice adgnoscamus et consensu vera esse testamur? “desunt inopiae multa, avaritiae omnia.” [I7 Meyer; Σ; Π; Ψ; Seneca *Contr.* 7.18] “in nullum avarus bonus est, in se pessimus” [I5 Meyer; Σ; Π; Ψ]. ad hos versus ille sordidissimus plaudit et vitiis suis fieri convicium gaudet.

(13) Seneca *Ep.* 108.11-2 Reynolds: de contemptu pecuniae multa dicuntur et longissimis orationibus hoc praecipitur, ut homines in animo, non in patrimonio putent esse divitias, eum esse locupletem qui paupertati suae aptatus est et parvo se divitem fecit; magis tamen feriuntur animi cum carmina eiusmodi dicta sunt: “is minimo eget mortalis qui minimum cupit.” [I56 Meyer; Π; Ψ; Φ] “quod vult habet qui velle quod satis est potest.” [Q74 Meyer; not in the mss.] cum haec atque eiusmodi audimus, ad confessionem veritatis adducimur; ...

(14) Seneca *Consol. ad Marc.* 9.5 Reynolds: egregium verum et dignum qui non e pulpito exiret: “cuius potest accidere quod cuiquam potest!” [C34 Meyer; Π; Ψ]

(15) Seneca *De tranq. an.* 11.8 Reynolds: numquam me in bona re mali pudebit auctoris. Publilius [*Haupt:* **publius** *codd.*], tragicis comicisque vehementior ingeniis quotiens mimicas ineptias et verba ad summam caveam spectantia reliquit, inter multa alia coturno, non tantum sipario, fortiora et hoc ait: “cuius potest accidere quod cuiquam potest.” [C34 Meyer; Π; Ψ] hoc si quis in medullas demiserit et omnia aliena mala, quorum ingens cotidie copia est, sic aspexerit tamquam liberum illis et ad se iter sit, multo ante se armabit quam petatur; sero animus ad periculorum patientiam post pericula instruitur.

(16) Gellius 17.14.1-4 Marshall:

Sententiae ex **Publili** [*FON:* **publili** *IIδ:* **publii** *X*] mimis selectae lepidiores

Publilius [*F²Z:* **publius** *cett. codd.*] mimos scriptitavit, dignusque habitus est qui subpar Laberio iudicaretur. C. autem Caesarem ita Laberii maledicentia et adrogantia offendeat, ut acceptiores et probatiores sibi esse Publilii [*edd.:* **publii** *codd.*] quam Laberii mimos praedicaret. huius Publilii [*edd.:* **publii** *codd.*] sententiae feruntur pleraeque lepidae et ad communem sermonum usum commendatissimae, ex quibus sunt istae singulis versibus circumscriptae, quas libitum hercle est adscribere:

malum est consilium, quod mutari non potest. [M54 Meyer; Ψ; O]
 beneficio dando accepit, qui digno dedit. [B12 Meyer; Σ; Ψ; Y]
 feras, non culpes, quod vitari non potest. [F11 Meyer; Σ; Ψ; Y]
 cui plus licet, quam par est, plus vult, quam licet. [C46 Meyer; not in the mss.]
 comes facundus in via pro vehiculo est. [C17 Meyer; Σ; Π; Ψ; Y]
 frugalitas miseria est rumoris boni. [F28 Meyer; Π; Ψ (only in F)]
 heredis fletus sub persona risus est. [H19 Meyer; Σ; Ψ]
 furor fit laesa saepius sapientia. [F13 Meyer; Σ; Ψ; Y]
 inprobe Neptunum accusat, qui iterum naufragium facit. [I63 Meyer; Y]
 ita amicum habeas, posse ut <facile> fieri hunc inimicum putes. [I16 Meyer; Σ; Ψ]
 veterem ferendo iniuriam invites novam. [V16 Meyer; Ψ; O]
 numquam periculum sine periculo vincitur. [N7 Meyer; Σ; Ψ; Y]
 nimium altercando veritas amittitur. [N40 Meyer; Ψ; O]
 pars benefici est, quod petitur si belle neges. [P20 Meyer; Ψ]

(17) Macrobius *Sat.* 2.7.10-11 Kaster: **Publili** [NDP: **publii** *GMBOLFR*²AC: **puplii** *VR*¹]
 autem sententiae feruntur lepidae et ad communem usum accommodatissimae, ex quibus has fere
 memini singulis versibus circumscriptas:

beneficium dando accepit qui digno dedit. [B12 Meyer; Σ; Ψ; Y]
 feras, non culpes, quod mutari non potest. [F11 Meyer; Σ; Ψ; Y]
 cui plus licet quam par est, plus vult quam licet. [C46 Meyer; not in the mss.]
 comes facundus in via pro vehiculo est. [C17 Meyer; Σ; Π; Ψ; Y]
 frugalitas miseria est rumoris boni. [F28 Meyer; Π; Ψ (only in F)]
 heredis fletus sub persona risus est. [H19 Meyer; Σ; Ψ]
 furor fit laesa saepius sapientia. [F13 Meyer; Σ; Ψ; Y]
 improbe Neptunum accusat, qui iterum naufragium facit. [I63 Meyer; Y]
 nimium altercando veritas amittitur. [N40 Meyer; Ψ; O]
 pars benefici est quod petitur si cito neges. [P20 Meyer; Ψ]
 ita amicum habeas, posse ut fieri hunc inimicum putes. [I16 Meyer; Σ; Ψ]
 veterem ferendo iniuriam invites novam. [V16 Meyer; Ψ; O]
 numquam periculum sine periculo vincitur. [N7 Meyer; Σ; Ψ; Y]

(18) Jerome *Ep.* 53.11-2: quidquid in sumptus de tuo tuleris, pro lucro computa. antiquum
 dictum est: “avarus tam deest, quod habet, quam quod non habet”. [T3 Meyer; Ψ (only in F);
 Seneca *Contr.* 7.3.8; Quintilian 8.5.6, 9.3.64]

(19) Jerome *Ep.* 107.8: legi quondam in scholis puer: “aegre reprehendas, quod sinas
 consuescere.” [A52 Meyer; O]

(20) Salvianus *De Gub. Dei* 1.10.46-7: nos magis laudamus illa quae tunc fuerunt, quam ista quae nunc sunt, non quia, si eligendi facultas esset, semper habere illa mallems, sed quia usitatum hoc humanae mentis est vitium, illa magis semper velle quae desunt, et quia, ut ille ait, “aliena nobis, nostra plus aliis placent”. [A28 Meyer; Σ; Π; Ψ; Υ]

(21) Porphyry *Comm. ad Hor. S. 1.3.32*: *Bonus vir est et tibi amicus*. His ergo colligit amicorum vitia si levia sint, ferenda esse secundum illud, quod praecipitur per proverbium: “amici mores noveris, non oderis”. [A56 Meyer; not in the mss.]

(22) Seneca *Ep.* 33.6-7 Reynolds: Nec dubito quin multum conferant rudibus adhuc et extrinsecus auscultantibus; facilius enim singula insidunt circumscripta et carminis modo inclusa. ideo pueris et sententias ediscendas damus et has quas Graeci chrias vocant, quia conplecti illas puerilis animus potest, qui plus adhuc non capit.

APPENDIX II

Transcription of ms. K (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berlin lat. 4° 404) 32^v-43^r

The line numbers do not occur in the ms. but have been added by me so as to facilitate identifying specific *sententiae*. Letters printed below in red correspond to letters written by the scribe in red ink. In transcribing the fols. I use the following abbreviations, which I found in the ms.:

-ā = -am	-ē = -em	-ę = ae	ē = est
-& = -et	-ō = -om	-ū = -um	ñ = non

Note also the following *notae adscriptae*:

ac = <i>ante correctionem</i>	m. = <i>manus</i>
add. = <i>addidit</i>	pc = <i>post correctionem</i>
cp = <i>per compendium</i>	sl = <i>supra lineam</i>

fol. 32^v

postea

INCIPIUNT SENTENTIAE SENECE

PHYLOSOPHI

A lienum est omne quicquid optando euenit.	1
Ab alio expectes alteri quod feceris.	2
Animus uereri qui scit scit tuta ingredi.	3
Auxilia humilia firma consensus facit.	4
A mor animi arbitrio sumitur non ponitur.	5
A ut amat aut odit mulier· nihil est tertium.	6
A d tristem partem istrenua suspicio.	7

A mes parentem si aequus ē· si aliter feras.	8
A spicere oportet quid possis perdere.	9
A mici uitia nisi feras facis tua.	10
A lienum aes homini ingenuo acerua ē servitus.	11
A bsentem laedit cū ebrio qui litigat.	12
A mans iratus multa mentitur sibi.	13
A uarus ipse miseriae causa ē suae.	14
A mans quid cupiat scit· quid sapiat non uidet.	15
A mans quod suspicatur uigilans somniat.	16
A d calamitatē quilibet rumor ualeat.	17
A mor extorqueri nō potest· sed elabi potest.	18
fol. 33 ^r	
A uarum facile capias· ubi non sis idem.	21
A mare et sapere uix adeo contenditur [^{ac} : conceditur ^{pc}]	22
A b amante lacrimis redimas iracundiam.	19
A perte mala cum est mulier tū demū est bona.	20
A estatem caene dū celat aetas indicat.	24
A uarus nisi commoritur nihil recte facit.	23
A uarus damno potius quā sapiens dolere.	25
A uaro quid mali optes nisi ut uiuat diu.	26
A nimo dolenti nihil oportet credere.	27
A lienum nobis nrm [m <i>cum linea superscripta</i>] plus aliis placet.	28
A mare iuuenem [^{ac} : iuueni ^{pc}] fructus est crimen seni.	29
A nus cum ludit morti delicias facit.	30
A moris uulnus idem qui sanat facit.	31
A d paenitendum properat [^{ro} ^{cp}] cito qui iudicat.	32
A leator quantum in arte ē tanto ē· nequior.	33
A mor otiosae causa sollicitudinis.	34
B is & [<i>ut mihi uidetur</i>] gratū· quod opus ē· si ultro offeras.	1
B onarū rerum· consuetudo pessima ē·.	2
B eneficium qui dare nescit· iniuste perdit.	3
B onum ē fugienda aspicere· in alieno malo.	4
B eneficium accipere libertatē [^{er} ^{cp}] ē vindere [^{ac} : uendere ^{pc} ^{sl}].	5

fol. 33^v

Bona nemini hora ē ut non alicui sit mala.	6
Bis enim mori · ē · alterius arbitrio mori.	7
Beneficia plura recepit qui scit reddere.	8
Bis peccas · cū peccati obsequiem [^{ac} : obsequiv ^{pc}] accōmodas.	9
Bonus animus laesus grauius multo irascitur.	10
Bona mors ē homini · vitae quae extinguit mala.	11
Beneficium dando accipit · qui digno dedit.	12
Blanditia ñ imperio fit dulcis uenus.	13
Bonus animus numquā erranti obsequiū [ui ^{cp}] accōmodat.	14
Beneficium qui dedisse · se dicit p&it.	15
Beniuoli coniunctio animi · maxima ē cognatio.	16
Beneficiū saepe dare · docere est reddere.	17
Bonitatis verba imitare · maior malitia ē.	18
Bona opinio hominū · tutior pecunia ē.	19
Bonū quod ē subprimitur nequā extinguitur.	20
Bis uincit · qui se uincit In uictoria.	21
Benignus [us ^{cp}] &iam · causam dandi cogitat.	22
Bis interimitur · qui suis armis perit.	23
Bene dormit qui non sentit quā male dormiat.	24
Bonorū crimen ē · officiosus miser.	25
Bona quę ueniunt nisi sustineantur [ur ^{cp}] cadunt ut opprimant.	26

fol. 34^r

Bona fama in tenebris propriū [ro ^{cp}] splendorē · obtin&.	27
Bene cogitata · si excedunt non occidunt.	28
Bene perdit nūmos · iudicium [^{ac} : iudiciū ^{pc} sl] dat nocens.	29
Bono In parente · anima est pecunia.	30
Bonū ad uirum · cito moritur Iracundia.	31
Breuiens ipsa ē memoria iracundiae.	32
Bona turpitudine ē qui periculū uindicat.	33
Bona comparat · praesidia misericordia.	34
Beneficium dignis · ubi deomnes obliges.	35
Consu&a uitia ferimus non reprehendimus [<i>alterum</i> re ^{cp} ; us ^{cp}].	1
Crudelis in re aduersa · obiurgatio.	2

Cauendi nulla ē dimittenda occasio.	3	
Cui semper dederis· ubi neges rapere imperes.	4	
Crudelem medicum In tēperans facit.	5	
Cuius mortē amici expectant uitā cuius oderunt [unt ^{cp}].	6	
Cum inimico nemo in gratiā tuto redit.	7	
Citius uenit periculū· cū contemnitur.		8
Casta ad uirū matrona· parendo imperat.	9	
Cito ignominia fit· superbi [er ^{cp}] gloria.	10	
Consilio melius uincas· quam iracundia.	11	
Cuiuis dolori remediū ē patientia.	12	
fol. 34 ^v		
Cotidie damnatur· qui semper tim&.	13	
Cum uitia prosunt· peccat qui recte facit.	14	
Contumeliā nec fortis potest· nec ingenuus pati.	15	
Conscientia animi· nullas inuenit lingue preces [re ^{cp}].	16	
Comes facundus in uia· pro uehiculo est.	17	
Cito inproborū [ro ^{cp}] la&a ad perniciem [.]cadunt [<i>rasura unius litterae</i> <i>vel duarum litterarum</i>].	18	
Contemni est grauius quā stulte percuti.	19	
Co[.]tidie [<i>rasura unius litterae</i>] ē· d&erior posterior dies.	20	
Crimen relinquit uitae qui mortē app&it.	21	
Discipulus ē prioris posterior dies.	1	
Dānare obiurgare· cū auxilio ē opus.	2	
Diu adparandū ē bellū· ut uincas celerius.	3	
Dixeris maledicta cuncta· cū ingratū hominē dixeris.	4	
De inimico ñ loquaris· male sed cogites.	5	
Deliberare utilia· mora ē tutissima.	6	
Dolor decrescit· ubi quod crescat non hab&.	7	
Dedicere feere [ac: flere ^{pc}]· femina ē mandaciū [ac: mendaciū ^{pc}].	8	
Discordia fit· carior concordia.	9	
Deliberandū ē· quicquid statuendū ē semel.	10	
Difficilē habere oport&· aurē ad crimina.	11	
Dū ē uita grata mortis conditio ē optima.	12	

fol. 35^r

D amnū appellandū ē cū mala fama lucrū.	13
D ucis in consilio· posita ē uirtus militum.	14
D ies quod donat timeas· cito raptū uenit.	15
D imissū quod nescitur· non amititur.	16
E tiā innocentis· cogit mentiri dolor.	1
E t tamen peccato recte praestatur fides.	2
E tiā celeritas· in desiderio mora ē.	3
E x uitio alterius· sapiens emendat suū.	4
E t de ē & superat· miseris cogitatio.	5
E tiā obliuisci quid sis· interdū expedit.	6
E x hominum quaestu· facta fortuna < ē ^{add. m. 2 sl} > dea.	7
E ffugere cupiditatē regnū ē uincere.	8
E xuli ubi nusquā domus ē sine sepulchro ē mortuus.	9
E t qui faciunt oderunt iniuriam.	10
E ripere telū· non dare irato dec&.	11
E xiliū pati ē· patriae qui se denegat.	12
E tiā capillus unus· hab& umbrā suam.	13
E heu quā miserū ē fieri m&uendo senem.	14
E tiam hosti ē aequus· qui hab& ui [^{ac} · IN ^{m. 2 pc}] consilio fidem.	15
E xcelsis multo facilius casus noc&.	16
F idē qui perdit· quo se seruat reliquum.	1

fol. 35^v

F ortuna cū blanditur· cap[i <i>erasa</i>]tatum uenit.	2
F ortunā citius reperias· quā retineas.	3
F ormosa facies· multa commendatio ē.	4
F rustra rogatur qui misereri non potest.	5
F ortuna unde aliquid fregit quassum ē.	6
F raus ē accipere quod non possis reddere.	7
F ortuna nimium quē fou&· stultū facit.	8
F at&tur facimus [^{ac} · facinus ^{pc}]· is qui iuditium fugit.	9
F elix improbitas· optimorū ē calamitas.	10
F eras non culpes· quod mutari non potest.	11
F utura pugnant· ne se superari sinant.	12

F uror fit laesa sepius patientia.	13
F idem qui perdit [er ^{cp}]· nihil potest ultra perdere.	14
F acilitas animi· ad partē stultitiae sapit.	15
F ides unanima [ac: unanima ^{pc}]· unde hab&, nūquā redit.	16
F idē nemo umquā perdit [er ^{cp}]· nisi qui non hab&.	17
F ortuna obesse [esse ^{cp}]· nulli contenta ē semel.	18
F ulmen ē· ubi cū potestate habitat iracundia.	19
F rustra cū ad senectā uentum ē repetas adoliscientiam.	20

fol. 36^r

F alsum maledictū maliuolū mendatiū ē.	21
F eminę naturā· regere sperare odiū ē.	22
F eras difficilia· ut facilia perferas [er ^{cp}].	23
F ortuna uitrea ē· tū cū splend& frangitur.	24
F eras quod laedit· ut quod prodest feras.	25
F acit gratū fortuna· quē nemo uid&.	26
F ortuna homini plus quā consilium ualet.	27
G raue[m <i>erasa</i>] praeiudiciū [rae ^{cp}] ē quod iudiciū non hab&.	1
G rauiissima ē probi [ro ^{cp}] hominis iracundia.	2
G rauis homini· poena ē quē post facti penit&.	3
G rauis animus dubiā non hab& sententiam.	4
G rauius est malū omne· quod sub aspectu lat&.	5
G rauius noc& quodcūque [ue ^{cp}]· inexpertū [er ^{cp}] accidit.	6
G rauior ē inimicus· hic qui lat& in pectore.	7
G rauiissimum· ē imperiū consu&udinis.	8
G raue crimen· &iā leuiter cū ē dictū noc&.	9
H eu quā difficilis gloriae custodia ē.	1
H omo extra corpus· ē suum cū irascitur.	2
H eu quā est timendus· qui mori tutū putat.	3
H omo qui in homine calamitosa[ac: -o ^{pc}] ē misericors meminit sui.	4
H onesta turpitudine ē· mori pro [ro ^{cp}] causa bona.	5

fol. 36^v

H ab& in aduersis auxilia· qui in secundis cōmodat.	6
H eu quā miserū ē ab eo ledi· de quo non ^{con [add. m. 2 sl]} possit quēri.	7

Hominē experiri· multa paupertas [er ^{cp}] iub&.	8
Heu dolor quā miser ē qui in tormento uecem [^{ac} , ut mihi uidetur: uocem ^{pc}] non hab&. 9	
Heu quā multa paenitenda incurrunt uiuendo diu.	10
Heu quā miserū discere seruire· ubi sis doctu dominari.	11
Hab& suū uenenū· blanda oratio.	12
Homo toties moritur· quotiens amittit suos.	13
Homo sēper aliud furit in alterū aliud cogitat.	14
Honestus rumor · ē patrum omnium.	15
Homo ne sit sine dolore· fortunā inuenit.	16
Honeste serui& · qui succūbit tempori.	17
Homo uitae cōmodatus· non donatus ē.	18
Heres fictus subpersonarius [^{ac} : persona risus ^{pc} ; er ^{cp}] est.	19
Heredem ferre utilius ē· quā quaerere.	20
Habent locū maledicti crebrae nuptiae.	21
Inferior rescit quicquid peccati superius.	1
Inimicum ulcisci· uitā accipere ē alteram.	2
Inuitū cum r&ineas exire incites.	3
Ingenuitatem lēdas· cū indignū roges.	4
In nullo auarus bonus ē in se pessimus.	5

fol. 37^r

Inopi beneficiū bis dat· qui dat celeriter.	6
Inopiae parua desunt· auaritiae omnia.	7
Instructa inopia ·ē· in diuitiis cupiditas.	8
In se uitat culpam qui peccatum praeterit [rae ^{cp}].	9
Iocundū nihil ē· nisi quod reficit vari&as.	10
Ingenuitas non recipit· contumeliam.	11
Irritare ē calamitatē· cū te felicē uocaberis.	12
Inpune pecces in eū· qui peccat rarior.	13
Ingratū [^{ac} : us ^{pc}] unus miseris· omnibus [us ^{cp}] noc&.	14
In miseria uita [<i>lacuna brevis</i>] contumelia ē.	15
Ita amicū habeas posse ut facile fieri hunc non inimicum potes [^{ac} : putes ^{pc}].	16
Inuidiā ferre· aut fortis aut felix potest.	17
In amore semper· mendax iracundia ē.	18
Invidia tacite sed inimice irascitur.	19

I ratū breuiter uites inimicū diu.	20
I niuriarū remedium ē obliuio.	21
I racundiā qui uincit· hostem superat maximum.	22
I actū tacendum· crimen facias acius.	23
I n malis sperare bene· nisi innocens nemo solet.	24
I n uindicando· criminosa ē celeritas.	25
I nimicū quamuis· humilē docti ē m&uere.	26

fol. 37^v

I n calamitoso risus· &iam iniuria ē.	27
I udex dānatur· cū nocens absoluitur.	28
I gnoscere hominū ē· nisi pud& cui ignoscitur.	29
I n rebus dubiis· plurima ē audacia.	30
I llo nocens se dānat· quod peccat die.	31
I ta crede amico· ne sit inimico locus.	32
I ratu &iam facinus consilium putat.	33
I nuidia id loquitur· non quod subest.	34
L oco ignominiae· ē apud indignū dignitas.	1
L aus noua nisi oritur· &iam v&us amittitur.	2
L aeso dolori· remediū ē inimici dolor.	3
L euis ē fortuna· cito reposit quod [uo ^{cp}] dedit.	4
L ex uniuersa ē· quae iub& nasci & mori.	5
L ucrū sine damno· alterius fieri ñ potest.	6
L asciuia & laus· nūquā habent concordia.	7
L egē nocens uer&ur· fortunā innocens.	8
L ibido iudiciū ē· quod leuitas sapit.	9
L ibido cunctos· &iam sub uultu domat.	10
M alignos fieri maxime ingrati docent.	1
M ultis manitur· qui uni facit iniuriam.	2
M ora omnis odio ē· sed facit sapientiam.	3

fol. 38^r

M ala [ac:-ipc] causa ē· quae requirit misericordiam.	4
M ori est felicis· antequā mortē inuoces.	5
M iserū ē agere· cogi quod cupias loqui.	6

Miserrima ē fortuna quae inimico caret.	7
Malus ē uocandus· qui sua ē causa bonus.	8
Malus bonū ubi se simulat· tunc ē pessimus.	9
M&vs [pc: -es ^{ac} , <i>ut mihi videtur</i>] cum uenit· rarum hab& sonus locum.	10
Mori necesse sit· sed ñ quoties volueris.	11
Male geritur· quicquid geritur fortunę fide.	12
Mortuo qui mittit munus nihil dat illi sibi adimit.	13
Minus ē quā seruus· dominus qui seruos tim&.	14
Magis fidus heres na ^{s[add. m. sl]} titur quā scribitur.	15
Malo in consilio· feminæ uincunt uiros.	16
Mala ē uoluntas· ad alienum consuescere.	17
Maximo periculo custoditur quod multis plac&.	18
Mala ē medicina· ubi aliquid naturae perit.	19
Malae nature· nūquā doctorē indigent.	20
Miseri scire· sine periculo est uiuere.	21
Male uiuunt· qui se sēper uicturos putant.	22
Maledictū interpretando [er ^{cp}] facias acgrius.	23
Male secū agit· aeger medicū qui heredē facit.	24
fol. 38 ^v	
Minus decipitur· cui negatur celeriter.	25
Mutat se bonitas· cū inritatur iniuria.	26
Mulier cū sola cogitat· male cogitat.	27
Male facere qui uult· nusquā causam inuenit.	28
Maliuolus semper sua natura uescitur.	29
Multos timere deb&· quē[pc: qua ^{ac}] multi timent.	30
Male imperando sūmū imperiū amittitur.	31
Mulier quae multis nubit· multis ñ plac&.	32
Nihil agere semper [er ^{cp}] infelicis ē optimū.	1
Nihil peccent oculi· si animus oculis impe[ratura; an ra?] ^{r&} .	2
Nihil propriū ducas· quicquid mutari potest.	3
Non cito ruina perit· uir qui primam tim&.	4
Nullus ē tantus quaestus quā quod habeas arcere.	5
Nescias quid optes· aut quid fugias ita ludit dies.	6
Nūquā periculū· nisi periculo uincitur.	7

N	ulla tā bona ē· fortuna de qua nihil possis queri [ue ^{cp}].	8
N	usquā melius morimur homines quā ubi libenter [er ^{cp}] uiximus.	9
N	egandi causa auaro· nūquā defecit.	10

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